

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1961

How to get from Foreign Ministers Meeting to a Peace Conference?

thru  
Lay out components, two ways:

A. elements of agreements, which can be included or excluded  
in any particular plan

B. means of agreement

A. Elements of Agreement

Allies want

guaranteed status  
improved access  
connections to Bonn  
minimum recognition  
livable Berlin boundary

USSR wants

end of occupation  
end of real agitation  
some recognition  
Oder-Neisse

Both can gain from

Mixed committees  
Non-aggression agreement  
Nuclear limitation  
U.N. presence  
U.N. guarantees

B. Means of Agreement

1. Modified Peace Plan

Advantages

easy to agree with  
Allies  
conform to our hopes

Disadvantages

impossible to sell to  
Soviets  
known to be impossible  
to sell to Soviets  
lacking in appeal to  
our own public opinion

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2. Interim Berlin and Security Agreement

Advantages

moderately saleable to  
Allies

practical and realistic

moderately negotiable

Disadvantages

not very striking

probably not good enough  
for a settlement

somewhat open to charges  
of "retreat"

3. Peace Conference and Parallel Treaties

Advantages

Most likely to succeed

Shows U. S. initiative

Corresponds to reality

Disadvantages

Hard to sell to Allies

May give Soviets a real  
victory in Germany